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AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW.

VI.

TUDOR ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND THE JEWS.

ENGLISHMEN must regard with interest the part played by Jews in the royal divorce which convulsed Europe, offended Spain, and led to the establishment of the English Church by Henry VIII. Jews in Venice, Bologna, and Rome were consulted on the divorce case by Stokesley, the king's solicitor, during the year 1530. Chapuys writes¹ to Charles V to tell how King Henry had sent a dispatch to Rome, "to bring over an old Jew, now here, who says he can prove incontrovertibly that the king's marriage (to Katharine of Arragon, the betrothed of his deceased brother) was unlawful," and Chapuys goes on to say that he has "advised Messire Mai of this, so that should the Jew be a man of such learning and parts as to inspire confidence, he (Mai) may prevail on the Pope to stop his coming (to England), at least until his arguments have been heard," so that Bishop Gardiner might be instructed how to reply to them.

A little later on Messire Mai writes² to the Emperor that "Your Majesty will be glad to hear that this very year one among the Roman Jews has been compelled to marry his brother's widow—not only not prohibited, but actually enjoined by Jewish law,"—a curious instance of the irony of fate—a Spanish king, grandson of Ferdinand and

¹ *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1531-33, 61, 552, 869.

² *Ibid.*, 739; and see Lucien Wolf's paper on "Anglo-Jewish History, 1290-1656" in the *Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers*, and the authorities there cited, including an entry how Henry "swore to persecute without mercy any cursed Jew in his dominions."

Isabella, trying to save his sister from divorce by appeal to the Jewish law of יבום as practised in the ghetto.

Later on the "Jew in Rome is to be brought over to England¹." Then Charles the Fifth's faithful servant promptly reports that, "the king takes with him to Calais a legion of doctors and priests who hold for the divorce, and likewise the Jew who came from Venice at his bidding¹."

The British Museum has a ש"נ on the subject, by one of the Rabbis whom the king consulted, which has been published by Kaufmann². The Rev. Michael Adler, in his history of the "Domus Conversorum," gives several instances of references to Jews in England during the Tudor period³. Between 1492 and 1581 two Jews and five Jewesses were admitted to the Domus as converts—all of them seem to have come from the Peninsula. Elizabeth Portingale (i.e. of Portugal) was the first, and reached London in the very year of the expulsion from Spain, Menda (Mendes?) and Massa were the last.

Shortly after the divorce had been settled in a manner unsatisfactory to Spain, trouble began with the ill-treatment of English subjects by the Inquisition. These were mostly seamen adventuring on the Spanish Main. In 1534 we read of two Englishmen imprisoned for having heretical books in their possession, and throughout the remainder of Henry's reign, and the whole of Elizabeth's, there are constant references and protests to such violation of the Law of Nations, and as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* testifies, many Lutherans were burnt at the stake. Thus we read of Englishmen who go to Spain to trade, and English prisoners of the Inquisition at Seville, and Queen Elizabeth sending Sir John Smith to Spain on a mission respecting

¹ *Cal. of State Papers*, *ibid.*, p. 761, and *ibid.*, p. 535.

² *Ar. Or.* 151, quoted in *Revue des Études Juives*, XXX, 309.

³ *Exchequer Accounts*, Bundles 253, Nos. 8, 17, and 15; 254, No. 3; 255, Nos. 10 and 11, and *Foreign and Domestic Papers*, 24 Henry VIII.

⁴ *State Papers* (Spanish), 1534, pp. 164, 296, 412.

them¹, and English merchants trafficking with Spain presenting a petition concerning the Inquisition in 1576². Throughout this period Jews, mostly from Spain and Portugal, seem to have come to England for the purposes of commerce, and some to have settled here. Theoretically any Jew's property was forfeit to the Crown, in practice he was left alone, and the police and the neighbours seem to have connived at his presence. Nathaniel Menda, the convert above referred to, was six years in London before his conversion, poor but unmolested. Lee has shown how a Spanish Jew, Lopes, practised here as Elizabeth's physician. Even a cursory investigation of our official records shows other instances. Thus in the Acts of the Privy Council³ we read of a "Dispute between the King and certeyne marchawntes strawngers probably suspected to be Juis." These are later on described as "Portugalles suspected of Judaisme," and were ultimately, in 1542, declared to be Christian men. In 1543 we read of Portuguese Jews imprisoned in London and released by special request of the King and Queen of Portugal⁴! Again one Henry Alveros or Alvaros (Alvarez?) is in 1546 able to disprove a similar charge, and at a council holden at Hampton Court a man was purged of the charge of "defrauding the King's Majesty of his interest in the goods of Alveros in case he had been proved a Jewe."

Alvarez was more fortunate than "Doctour Arnande" (Fernandez?) who in 1562 was tried by the Privy Council, "esteemed to be a Jewe and judged to ryde through the streetes in a carte⁵" by way of punishment and disgrace.

The troublous and anxious time prior to the defeat of the Spanish Armada was occupied by England in various negotiations with the enemies of Spain. Then, as now,

¹ *Cal. of State Papers* (Spanish), 1568-79, pp. 105, 536, &c.

² *Ibid.* (Foreign), 1575-77, No. 1132.

³ *New Series*, vol. I, 1542-47, pp. 76, 94, 222, 294, 305-7.

⁴ *State Papers* (Spanish), 1542-43, p. 270.

⁵ *Acts of Privy Council*, 1547-50, p. 28.

Constantinople was a hotbed of intrigue, but the Turk was a strong man then and in the refugees from the Peninsula he had shrewd and trusty advisers. It is not generally known that Rabbi Solomon, the Portuguese Jew, was the honest broker of the first Anglo-Turkish Alliance in 1587. The Venetian delegate at Constantinople writes to the Doge and Senate: "Since the news of the defeat of the English . . . the English Ambassador frequents the houses of the Pashas . . . and of the Jew, Salamon the Portuguese, who is well acquainted with Indian affairs. Sultan promises fleet to annoy the King of Spain and give satisfaction to the English¹."

Next year saw the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and England could do without Turkish help, but even in 1599 Elizabeth corresponds with another Turkish official, also a refugee from Spain, but this time a Jewess—Esperanza Malchi, the Sultana's secretary². A year or two previously, as Graetz recounts, the lovely Maria Nunez and a whole shipload of fugitive Marranos were captured by the English, and received so graciously by the Queen that Maria Nunez had the refusal of the hand of an English duke!

VII.

THE STORY OF JOSÉ DIAZ PIMIENTA³.

(FROM THE SPANISH OF J. M. M. DE ESPINOSA.)

FRAY JOSÉ DIAZ PIMIENTA was born in the island of Havana. His father was a Spaniard, and his mother a Creole. Both were nobles and "Cristianos viejos," that is to say, there was no admixture of Jewish blood in their veins. At the age of ten years he is said to have attempted suicide by taking poison. At fifteen he was a novice at

¹ *Cal. of State Papers (Venetian)*, 1581-91, p. 324.

² Ellis, *Letters illustrative of English History*, 1825, III, 52, cited by Lucien Wolf, *loc. cit.*

³ *Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Trans. IX (1901), containing a somewhat similar account of Pimienta from an MS. *Relacion* of the Seville Auto of July 25, 1720.

a convent in the island of Cartagena, where he seems to have displayed artistic rather than religious tastes, so much so that, hearing that the Spanish Vicar-General was about to visit Cartagena, he fled to the island of Curaçao, in "Holland where the heretics and Jews live," and joined them. Denying the faith of Jesus Christ, he became an apostate and heretic, and followed the law of Moses, which he held in great love. He had himself circumcised with all due rites and ceremonies, and took as his name Abraham Diaz Pimienta, and then afterwards he married a Jewess. The Spanish account says that he became a pirate, and on one occasion received a wound with a cutlass. On his recovery he was appointed by the Jews schoolmaster to teach the law of Moses to their sons. He spent some time in this employment, but was ultimately apprehended in the street, when they slit his nose with a knife without otherwise injuring him. Handed over to the Inquisition of Cartagena, he confessed his crimes and begged for mercy. Eventually he had to march out in procession as a penitent wearing the *sambenito* in the public Auto de Fé held in the convent of San Domingo in Cartagena, and was condemned to be exiled from America, and taken to Spain, where he was to remain a recluse in a convent of his Order for the rest of his life. He was placed on a ship of the *Miñona* (with the protocol of his case), and guarded with other prisoners, but he endured the voyage so impatiently, and his imprecations and blasphemies were such, that the sailors determined to throw him into the sea if they had to suffer any more trouble with him. As soon as the boat arrived at Cadiz, the captain handed over the prisoner to the Bishop and to the Commissary of the city. They put him in the ecclesiastical prison, and there he remained for three months. He begged the Commissary to remove his chains and alleviate his imprisonment, but when he saw that this was refused he broke the outer wall of the prison and escaped with another prisoner, leaving a paper writing to say that he escaped because

of the ill-treatment he had received, and that if any one was sick of his life he might go and look out for him. He made for the city of Jerez, and betook himself to his convent, where he was held for some days and treated without harshness, being permitted to go to the choir and to confess every four days, but not to administer the sacrament, as he had no licence from the Tribunal to do this. But notwithstanding this liberty he took every opportunity to speak badly of the said Tribunal, saying that they were more cruel than pirates. He took advantage of his cunning and sagacity to write a letter to a rich Jew of the city of Jerez, telling him his troubles, and begging him to come to the convent to see him, as he wished to talk with him; and, in order that there might be no doubt that he was a Jew, he wrote down some words which the Jews of Curaçao spoke during the ceremony of circumcision. The Jew was much vexed to receive the letter, and said that he did not understand Latin, and that he was unable to come to the convent. So he wrote a second letter to another Jew of Jerez, saying how that he was a Jew and wished to speak to him in the convent, where he expected him, and, in order to be recognized without asking questions, he was to wear a green ribbon on his left wrist, adding that the said Jew would recognize him by his slit nose. There was no answer to this letter, nor did the Jew go to see him, and so he wrote a third time to a Jew of the city of Cadiz, begging of him twenty-five doubloons; but his letters remained unanswered. All of which the said Fray José confessed he had done in order to trick the Jews, for he was not converted in his heart, but had only pretended conversion in order to get money to go back to Curaçao, and to avenge himself, and kill all the Jews who had circumcised him and were the cause of his destruction. For this purpose he wrote a letter to the King, and another to the Duke of Verugoas, seeking to obtain permission from his Majesty to go to conquer the island of Curaçao, offering

to pay for the permission 6,000 dollars. But when he saw his hopes frustrated he wrote commentaries on chapters li and lii of Isaiah, giving the explanations thereto given by the Jews. He wrote this for transmission to the Jew of Jerez, begging him to give the signal of the ribbon, but could not send it off because he had no safe messenger, and judging that he was punished by God, and that no Jew would help him after he had given up the law of Moses, he wrote a letter to the Commissary of Jerez to the following effect:—

Though for a time I held it my highest happiness to have deserted the law of Moses for that of Jesus Christ, now I hold it for my highest happiness to have arrived at the knowledge that the law of Moses is the most certain and sure. I would live and die therein, and would give a thousand lives for it in cruel martyrdom, and now sign myself Abraham Diaz Pimienta.

And the postscript added: *Although I must die by burning and am near thereto, I am surprised that they have not yet taken me to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, in order that I may gain a thousand lives in its fire.*

This letter he sent to the Commissary of Jerez, but on the same day took flight and escaped from the convent by the garden. When he arrived at that city he freighted a ship for Cadiz, and when he reached Puebla de Coria he found an English boat and asked the captain to take him to London, and related to him all his troubles. But the captain excused himself and said that if he took Pimienta he would lose his ship, his fortune, and his life, but Pimienta could easily follow on to Lisbon. He obeyed this advice, and by way of Seville proceeded to Lisbon, where he found an English ship laid up three days for repairs, and asked the captain to take him to Amsterdam or Jamaica. The captain refused, as he was a Spaniard, but suggested that he could go to Jamaica in another Dutch ship which was there. When all was ready he went

on shore one day, and recognizing the evil of his ways refused to re-embark, but changed his clothes in a wood and went to the city of Seville. The same day he presented himself at the College of S. Laureano, which was of his Order, and confessed his sins to the Father Rector, asking to be handed over to the Inquisition, and craved forgiveness.

Two days he stayed in the City College, whence he was taken to the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, a great building of that city, and afterwards brought to the Inquisition.

He was charged with being a heretic, apostate, and Jew, but was defended by his advocate with great sagacity and vivacity, saying that his conversion was true and that he had written the letters with the intention of extracting money from the Jews and avenging himself on them for his circumcision; and that the letter to the Commissary was with the intention of flight, in order that if they should catch him they should not place him in the convent and that the Jews should favour him, substantiating these arguments by the fact that when he had reached Cadiz he could have gone to Gibraltar and thence to wherever he pleased, but instead thereof he presented himself at the convent of Jerez. So also he could have betaken himself at Lisbon to the Dutch ship, but did not do so, but on the contrary came to Seville and presented himself at S. Laureano, but did not go direct to the Tribunal because he was indecently clad, as he wanted both frock and "cerquillo." By these and other arguments he defended himself against the Fiscal's charges, and sought to prove that his conversion was genuine.

The Tribunal placed him in strict confinement, where he remained some time, but this was afterwards relaxed. One night the Alcaide entering his cell to put a light in the pumpkin, he became greatly excited and begged and prayed, saying, "Let the Tribunal understand that it is no good forcing me; they are making a mistake. I will not obey, for that I am a Jew and mean to live and die in the

law of Moses," quoting as his authority the Apostle St. Paul in Gal. v, "Every man that receiveth circumcision is a debtor to do the whole law." On the following day he was taken to the hearing of his case, and when asked whether he wished to alter or change his pleas, he answered "Yes," stating that all his life he had been an enemy of deceit, but what he had said was false, and the truth was that he was a Jew in his heart and regarded the law of Moses as the true and sure path to salvation, and not that of Jesus Christ, and that he wished to be burned and to give his life for it a thousand times, that he knew well that theologians would come and argue with him, but that none would be able to convince him. When he was asked what he thought of the mystery of the Most Sacred Trinity, he replied that he had always believed in one God only, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, according to chapter xxxii of Deuteronomy; and when he was asked what he thought of the maternity and purity of the Most Holy Mary, he replied that she had never existed, inasmuch as the Messiah could have neither father nor mother, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, "Who shall tell his birth?" and that he knew not what to say; and when he was asked what he thought of the person of Jesus Christ, he replied that he was not the promised Messiah, for whom he was still waiting, and that Jesus was only a son of God in the same way as are all men, though he had always regarded him as a holy and lofty counsellor; and that as for the observance of the law of Moses which he kept, he had in prison observed the fasts from sunset to sunset, and recited the Psalms of Degrees, the *Benedicite* and *Cantemus domino gloriose*, all without the *Gloria Patri*, that he had always covered his head with a cap and would show courtesy to no judge while thus charged with religious crime. Then he was taken to the Fiscal, who asked him to appoint an advocate to defend him, and he replied that it was not necessary, for he had no advocate but God. His advocate being unable to

defend him because of his obstinacy, warned him that he would be burnt without fail. He replied that this was what he wished, he would give his life for the law of Moses, and thereby assure his salvation. The hearing was three times adjourned, then he confessed and ratified all that he had said. He said that he could not help but be a Jew for the sake of the Holy God of Israel, and that the sooner they burnt him, the sooner he would die for his faith. The Court found him an impenitent, and ended the case by pronouncing him an "escomulgado," a heretic, an apostate Jew, a Judaizer fallen from the faith and impenitent. The proceedings and his statement and confession were read over, and he was asked to sign the same, but he replied that he could not sign that day as it was the Sabbath, a holy day among the Jews, and that another should sign it. When the Tribunal saw that the prisoner was incorrigible, it adjudged that he should be publicly degraded from all his Orders and should be handed over to the Secular Arm in order to be burnt alive, and before his execution it ordered that, for the space of three months, men of great learning and recognized virtue of the city should preach to him and convert him.

It were useless to describe how these theologians, critics, and men of singular virtue laboured to convert him because of the scandal which he had given to his religion and the Church, inasmuch as he was a priest. He maintained that one could find salvation as well in the law of Moses as in that of Jesus Christ, but was ultimately corrected of this error and convinced that only in Jesus Christ and not otherwise could he find salvation.

On the eve of the Auto de Fé he lay down a little after dinner, and when he rose he said, "Is there no remedy; must I burn alive?" They sent for the Master of the Capuchin novices, whom he did not know and had never seen, for the P. Rector of S. Laureano, and for the P. Regent of San Tomas. To them he made confession and appealed for clemency. On the following day, the 25th

of July, 1720, at dawn he was absolved from excommunication and communicated with much unction. At six in the morning, with five other prisoners, he left the Court, carrying a crucifix in his hands and dressed as a "Mercenario," with two priests supporting him. Holy men of all Orders, and especially his own, accompanied him. The crowd was very great. He reached the convent of St. Paul, where the Auto was to take place, mounted the platform without the least fear, and holding the crucifix in his hands he said in a loud voice these solemn words. "*The errors of my youth caused me to follow the law of Moses, by aid of which I explained sundry texts of Scripture. For this reason I am thus disgraced, but by the grace of God I am now convinced, and the wounds of our Lord have converted me,*" whereon he kissed the feet of the crucifix and wept. "*Would that I were in the land of the Moors or in Mequinez, to give my life for the Catholic faith.*" He said no more, sentence was pronounced, and accompanied by the judges he went from the convent of St. Paul to the Plaza de San Francisco, where a sumptuous theatre and magnificent throne had been erected. Here sat Jose de Esquibel, Bishop of Licopoli, of the Order of San Domingo, in his pontifical robes, and many clergy of all Orders, and all the nobles of Seville. The prisoner mounted the platform, and in the presence of that huge crowd clothed himself with all his sacred vestments, from the amice to the chasuble and chalice. Then he knelt down and the ceremony of degradation began. The Bishop divested him of his sacred garments, and appeared much moved, and could not restrain his tears. When his religious garb had been quitted, P. M. Mendoza, critic of the Holy Office, also of his Order, handed him over to the Secular Arm, begging on the part of the Inquisition that they should treat the prisoner with pity. They took him to another majestic theatre, where beneath a canopy stood the Lieutenant Mayor, don Alonso de los Rios, who having regard to the circumstances condemned him to be garrotted and then burnt.

A learned and Christian statement was read and listened to by the prisoner, who without making any disturbance signed the same with his hand, after which, because of the great heat, the garrotting was postponed till six in the evening. He was taken to the Royal Prison and entered the chapel, where he ate with good appetite and lay down awhile. Between five and six they roused him to go to the "Quemadero," and on the road he showed his true repentance. He reached the place of punishment and was then embraced tenderly by all the priests who accompanied him. In a loud voice he begged pardon of all for the bad example which he had given, and especially of his Order for that he had disgraced his sacred garb, and loudly declared and confessed to all the public that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, which was the true one, and that he believed and confessed all that Mother Church believed and confessed, and that he died therein, and he besought all to follow the Church and never betray her. He himself having fallen away from the faith for a time had, through his youthful vices, come to that situation, and he begged that they might now burn him alive and treat him with no compassion, for that his crimes required the greatest punishment. Finally the sentence was executed, and he died with a great show of repentance. Then they placed a *coroza*¹ on him and a gown of "llamas," and his body was burned to ashes.

This was one of the greatest days ever seen in the city of Seville, not only because of the great crowd which was twelve leagues in circumference, but because such a case had never been seen before. The whole city and nobility of Seville assisted, and in their Christian piety ordered an infinite number of masses to be said for his soul, and all the religious Orders, nuns as well as monks, kept great days of penitence, fasting, and discipline. The prisoner was 32 years of age when he died.

¹ A coronet of strong paper worn as a mark of infamy.

VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE OF AUTOS DE FÉ
CELEBRATED IN SPAIN¹.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 8, 1459 1480 Mar. 26, 1481	? Barcelona Seville Seville	Gottheil Jud. Sev. Zunz, <i>Synagogale Poesie</i>	1 victim burnt. 7 burnt.
April 21, 1481 Nov. 4, 1481 1485-1503 over seventy autos	Saragossa	Kayserling	Between these dates Kayserling asserts there were 3, 4 or more autos celebrated each year in Saragossa, the capital of Arragon.
Oct. 13, 1486 Mar. 17, 1487 Oct. 24, 1487 Nov. 14, 1487 Feb. 18, 1488 July 8, 1488 July 10, 1489 Feb. 11, 1490 April 22, 1491 July 8, 1491 Feb. 8, 1495	? Monçon ? Barcelona ? Saragossa Lerida Monçon " Huesca " Saragossa " "	Gottheil " " " " " " " " " " " Kayserling, Gottheil	
Feb. 28, 1505 Aug. 17, 1505 Mar. 5, 1506 May 24, 1506 1506 1509 1510 1511 June 16, 1511	Barcelona Saragossa " " Las Palmas " " " Saragossa	Kayserling " " " " Gottheil " " " Kayserling	

¹ This list is mainly compiled from additional information supplied by Dr. Kayserling of Buda-Pesth and Professor Richard Gottheil of New York in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1901, XIV, 136-140 and 80-87. Their articles are here cited as "Kayserling" and "Gottheil" respectively.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Mar. 18, 1523	Saragossa	Kayserling	29 Jews killed ¹ .
July 23, 1524	"	"	
Feb. 28, 1528	"	"	
Feb. 28, 1539	"	"	
May 27, 1559	Valladolid	Gottheil	
Sept. 13, 1560	Madrid	Calendar of State Papers, Venice	
Nov. 25, 1567	Seville	Gottheil	2 burnt, 55 reconciled. 4 burnt. James Bolen (Bullen or Boleyn) of Scotland burnt.
Oct. 29, 1571	"	"	
Dec. 18, 1571	"	"	
Oct. 30, 1596	"	"	
April 19, 1600	"	"	Vide <i>R. E. J.</i> XXX, 94, Schwab. Manuel de Almeyda, a victim. 50 prisoners.
July 2, 1604	"	"	
Nov. 6, 1604	"	"	
Feb. 7, 1610	Logroño	"	
1618	Toledo	Jacobs	
Oct. 15, 1619	Toledo	Gottheil	
June 28, 1624	Seville	"	50 prisoners.
1625	Madrid	Kayserling	
Feb. 28, 1627	Seville	A "relacion" (Oe 174) in the Bibliothèque Nationale.	

¹ Tiepolo, Ambassador with King Philip, writes to the Doge concerning this Auto as follows:—"A fortnight ago last Sunday an act was performed at Murcia which is called at Toledo an Act of Inquisition, whereat 29 individuals were burnt as Jews and amongst them some chief personages (uomeni principali), so that the confiscating their property will yield the king upwards of 400,000 ducats. I have already informed your Serenity that a Jew whilst a prisoner in that city corrupted a great part of the population, and how the plot was discovered, so punishment of the culprits has not yet ended. The 29 persons who were burnt lately were all impenitent, but if they had recanted and demanded mercy even at the last their lives would have been spared, though with loss of their property and freedom, by virtue of a privilege to this effect which is enjoyed by the kingdoms of Murcia, Granada, Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, but which is not conceded to those of Castile, where, unless recantation be made within a certain period, the individual who omits to make it is necessarily put to death." *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian).

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Dec. 21, 1627	Seville	Gottheil	
Jan. 22, 1628	Cordova	"	
April 27, 1630	Toledo	"	
June 29, 1634	Cuenca	Schwab	57 Jewish victims.
April 17, 1644	Seville	Gotthiel	Dr. Vaez da Silba a victim.
1649	Valladolid	Menasseh ben Israel	Don Lope de Piera burnt.
		" Mikveh Israel "	
Dec. 12, 1654	Granada	Schwab	12 Jewish victims.
March, 1655	Compostella Galicia	Elogios que zelos os dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Nuñez Bernal, p. 125	Ishack de Almeida Bernal martyred "sobrino del otro Martir." My copy contains a MS. "soneto" of 14 lines, dedicated to this young Isaac Bernal.
Oct. 18, 1655	Compostella Galicia	Kayserling	
1657	Cordova	Steinschneider, <i>Bodleian Catalogue</i> , p. 176	Abraham, father of Joseph Athias, the printer of <i>צאתינה וראינה</i> burnt.
Nov. 30, 1661	Toledo	Gottheil	8 victims.
June 8, 1663	Seville	"	24 "reos."
April 4, 1664	"	"	22 "reos."
July 6 and 9, 1666	Cordova	"	23 victims.
1669	Toledo	"	
Jan. 13, 1675	Mallorca	Gottheil	
April 6, 23, and 30, 1679	"	"	50, 52, and 62 victims, respectively.
May 3 and 28, 1679	"	"	46 and 13 victims.
1683	Seville	Kohutin <i>Am. Jew. Hist. Procs.</i> IV, 108	Manoel Delgado reconciled.
Mar. 7, 1691	"	Gottheil	3 burned, 34 strangled.
May 1 and 6, 1691	"	"	25 victims at each.
June 2, 1691	"	"	
Nov. 30, 1693	"	"	
July 25, 1720	Seville	Jud. Sev.	At this auto perished José Diaz Pimienta, the adventurer. <i>Vide ante VII.</i>

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Sept. 15, 1721	Mallorca	Gottheil	
May 31, 1722	"	"	
May 9, 1723	Cuenca	Kayserling	
Dec. 16, 1725	Seville	Gottheil	
Aug. 18, 1726	Llerena	"	Juan Rodriguez of Bayonne condemned.
June 30, 1776	Seville	Seville	Louis Castellanos, a physician, the victim.
Nov. 7, 1781	Seville	Haydn's <i>Dictionary of Dates</i>	A witch burnt.

IX.

TABLE OF AUTOS CELEBRATED IN PORTUGAL AND ITS COLONIES.

(MOSTLY FROM MSS. A 4, 34-37 (INVENTARIO 166-169)
IN THE BIBLIOTHECA NACIONAL DE LISBOA¹.)

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>
1531	Lisbon	Zunz.	1553	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1536	Goa	"	1555	"	"
Sep. 20, 1540	Lisbon	Gottheil.	1560	"	"
Oct. 23, 1541	"	"	1561	"	"
1541	"	"	1563	"	"
1541	Evora	"	1563	Lisboa	"
1542	"	MSS. Lisb.	1564	Evora	"
Sep. 23, 1543	"	"	1567	"	"
1543	Thomar	"	1567	Lisboa	"
1543	Porto	Gottheil.	Oct. 5, 1567	Coimbra	"
1544	Thomar	MSS. Lisb.	1567	"	"
1548 (2)	Evora	"	1568	"	"
1551	"	"	1569 (2)	"	"
1552	"	"	1569	Evora	"
			1570	"	"
			1570	Coimbra	"

¹ These particulars were extracted by the kindness of the Librarian, Sr D^a Alberto Carlos da Silva, and their source is here cited as "MSS. Lisb."

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>
1571	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.	1600	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1572	Evora	"	1601	Coimbra	"
1573	Coimbra	"	1602 (2)	"	"
1574	"	"	1602	Lisbon	Menasseh b. Israel ¹ .
1574 (3)	Evora	"	1602	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1574	Lisboa	"	1603	Lisboa	"
1575	Evora	"	Aug. 3,	"	"
1576	"	"	1604	"	"
1576	Lisboa	"	1605 (2)	"	"
1576	Coimbra	"	1605	Evora	"
1578	"	"	1606	"	"
1581	Evora	"	1606	Lisboa	"
1582	Lisboa	"	1607	Coimbra	"
1583 (2)	Coimbra	"	1608	"	"
1584	"	"	Aug. 3,	Evora	"
1584	Lisboa	"	1608	"	"
1584	Evora	"	1609 (2)	Lisboa	"
1586	"	"	1610	Evora	"
1586	Lisboa	"	1610	Coimbra	"
1586	Coimbra	"	1611	Lisboa	"
1587	Lisboa	"	1612	Evora	Silva.
1587	Evora	"	1612	Coimbra	"
1588	"	"	1612	Goa	"
Nov. 7,	Lisboa	"	1614	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1588	"	"	June 21	Evora	Silva.
1588 (2)	Coimbra	"	and	"	"
1589	"	"	July 12,	"	"
1589	Evora	"	1615 (2)	"	"
1590	Lisboa	"	1616	"	"
1591	"	"	1616	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1591	Evora	"	1617	Lisboa	"
1591	Coimbra	"	1617	Goa	"
1592	Evora	"	1618 (2)	Coimbra	Silva.
1593	Coimbra	"	1618	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1594	Lisboa	"	1619	Lisboa	"
1594	Evora	"	1619	Evora	"
1595	Coimbra	"	1619 (2)	Coimbra	Silva.
1596	Evora	"	1620	"	"
1597	"	"	1620	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1597	Lisboa	"	1620	Evora	"
1598	Evora	"	1621	"	Silva.
1598	Coimbra	"	1621 (3)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
1599 (3)	"	"	1621 (4)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
1599	Lisboa	"	1621	Goa	Silva.
1599	Evora	"	1623	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1600	"	"	1623	Evora	"

¹ Quoted in Zedner's *Auswahl Historischer Stücke*, p. 144. At this auto Pater Diego de Assuncao was burnt for refusing to inform against judaizing Marranos.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>
1624	Evora	Silva.	April 2,	Lisboa	Silva.
1624	Lisboa	"	1642	"	"
1625 (2)	Coimbra	1. Silva.	1643	Evora	MSS. Lib.
1625	Evora	MSS. Lib.	1643	Coimbra	"
1626	"	Silva.	1644	Goa	Silva.
Nov. 29,	Coimbra	MSS. Lib.	1644	Evora	"
1626	"	"	1644 (3)	Lisboa	MSS. Lib.
1627	"	Silva.	1645 (2)	"	1. Silva.
1627	Lisboa	"	"	"	1-2. MSS. Lib.
1627	Evora	"	1646	"	MSS. Lib.
1627	Goa	"	1646	Evora	"
1628	Evora	MSS. Lib.	1647	"	"
1629	"	Silva.	1647	Coimbra	"
1629	Coimbra	"	1647 (2)	Lisboa	"
Sep. 2,	Lisboa	"	1649	"	"
1629	"	"	1649	Evora	Silva.
1630	Evora	"	1650 (2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lib.
1630 (2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lib.	1650 (4)	Lisboa	"
1631	"	"	1651	Evora	"
1631	Lisboa	"	1652 (2)	Lisboa	1. Graetz.
1632	"	"	"	"	2. Rel. Adler.
1632	Evora	"	1652	Coimbra	Geddes.
1632	Coimbra	"	1653 (2)	"	MSS. Lib.
1633	Evora	"	1653	Evora	"
1633	Lisboa	"	1654	"	"
1634	"	"	1654 (3)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
1634	Coimbra	"	"	"	1-3. MSS. Lib.
1635	Lisboa	"	1655	"	MSS. Lib.
1635	Evora	"	1655	Coimbra	"
1635	Goa	Silva.	1656	"	"
1636	Goa	MSS. Lib.	1656 (3)	Lisboa	"
1636	Coimbra	"	1657 (2)	"	"
Sep. 20,	"	"	1657	Evora	"
1636	Evora	Silva.	1658 (2)	Lisboa	"
1636	Lisboa	MSS. Lib.	Dec. 15,	Porto	Kayserling and Gott-
1637	"	Silva.	1658	"	heil, J. Q. R.
1637	Evora	"	1659	Lisboa	MSS. Lib.
1637 (2)	Coimbra	1. Silva.	1660 (2)	"	1. Silva.
"	"	1-2. MSS. Lib.	"	"	1-2. MSS. Lib.
1638	"	MSS. Lib.	Apr. 18,	Evora	Nieto.
1638	Lisboa	Silva.	1660	"	"
1638	Evora	MSS. Lib.	1660	Coimbra	MSS. Lib.
1639	"	"	1661	Lisboa	"
1640 (2)	"	"	1662 (2)	"	"
1640	Lisboa	Silva.	1662	Coimbra	"
1640	Coimbra	MSS. Lib.	1662	Evora	Silva.
1641	"	"	1663	"	MSS. Lib.
1641	Evora	"	1663	Lisboa	"
1642	"	"	1664	"	Silva.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>
Oct. 26, 1664	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.	1685	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1664			1685	Lisboa	"
1664	Evora	Silva.	1686	"	"
1665	"	MSS. Lisb.	1686	Evora	"
1666	"	"	1686 (2)	Coimbra	"
1666	Lisboa	Silva.	1687	"	"
1667	"	MSS. Lisb.	1688 (2)	Lisboa	"
1667 (2)	Coimbra	1. Ex Madrid Auto, Feb. 20, 1724. 1-2. MSS. Lisb.	1688 (2)	Coimbra	"
		MSS. Lisb.	1689	"	"
1667	Evora	MSS. Lisb.	1690	Lisboa	"
1668	Lisboa	"	1690	Evora	"
1669	"	"	1690	Coimbra	"
1669	Coimbra	"	1691	Coimbra	"
1669	Evora	"	1692	Lisboa	"
1670	"	Silva.	1693	"	"
1671 (2)	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.	1693	Coimbra	"
1671	Coimbra	"	1694 (2)	"	"
1671	Goa	Silva.	1694 (2)	Lisboa	"
1672	Evora	"	1694 (2)	Goa	"
1673 (2)	"	MSS. Lisb.	1695	"	"
1673	Goa	L'Inquisition de Goa.	1695 (2)	Lisboa	"
		1. Silva.	1695 (2)	Evora	"
1673 (2)	Lisboa	Silva.	1696	"	"
1673	Coimbra	"	1696 (6)	Coimbra	"
1674	"	MSS. Lisb.	1697	"	"
1676	Goa	L'Inquisition de Goa.	1698 (2)	Lisboa	"
		MSS. Lisb.	1698	Evora	"
1676	Lisboa	"	1699	Coimbra	"
1677	Coimbra	"	1700	Lisboa	"
1678	Lisboa	"	1700	Goa	"
1682 (3) ¹	"	1. Rel. Columbina. 1-3. MSS. Lisb.	1701 (2)	"	"
		MSS. Lisb.	1701 (2)	Coimbra	"
1682 (2)	Evora	1. Silva.	1701	Evora	"
1682 (5)	Coimbra	1-5. MSS. Lisb. MSS. Lisb.	1701 (2)	Lisboa	Kayserling.
		MSS. Lisb.	1702	"	MSS. Lisb.
1683 (2)	"	"	1703	"	"
1683	Evora	"	1704 (2)	Lisboa	Ex "Seville Auto, November 30, 1722.
1683 (2)	Lisboa	"			MSS. Lisb.
1684 (2)	"	"	1704 (2)	Coimbra	1. Rel. Bodl. and Vente de Castro.
1684	Evora	"	1705 (2)	Lisboa	2. Silva. Nieto ² .
1684	Coimbra	"			
1685 (5)	"	"			

¹ Geddes describes the auto da fé at Lisbon of May 10, 1682, as the "gravest and most terrible of the Portuguese inquisition," and adds that many of its dramatis personae were exported to Brazil as penitent new Christians.

² Mr. Solomon Schloss has drawn my attention to a volume in his library dealing with this auto and called *Sernam do Auto da Fe . . . na Praza do Rocio . . .*

Date.	Place.	Source.	Date.	Place.	Source.
1705	Evora	Ex Valencia Auto, April 2, 1724.	1716	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1706	"	MSS. Lisb.	1717	"	Silva.
1706(3)	Coimbra	1. Silva.	1717(2)	Lisboa	Haydn's <i>Dictionary of Dates</i> , 20 perish.
		1-3. MSS. Lisb.	1717	Goa	Silva.
1706(2)	Lisboa	1. Silva.	1718	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
		1-2. MSS. Lisb.	1718	Evora	1. Ex Cordova Auto, April 12, 1722; Ex Murcia Auto, May 15, 1723.
June 30 and Nov. 6	"	1. Silva.	1718(3)	Coimbra	1-3. MSS. Lisb.
1707(2)		1-2. MSS. Lisb.			MSS. Lisb.
1708	Goa	2. Geddes.			
1708	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.	1719(2)	"	
1708	Evora	"	1719(2)	Lisboa	"
1709(2)	Lisboa	1. Rel. Bodl.	1720	"	Silva.
1710(2)	Evora	1. Silva.	1720	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
		1-2. MSS. Lisb.	1720	Vizen	"
1711(2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.	1720(3)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
1711(2)	Lisboa	"			1-3. MSS. Lisb.
1712	Evora	MSS. Lisb.	1721(4)	"	MSS. Lisb.
1713	Coimbra	Silva.	1722	Lisboa	"
1713(2)	Lisboa	1. Silva.	1723(2) ¹	"	1. Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.
		1-2. MSS. Lisb.			1-2. MSS. Lisb.
1714	"	Catalogue de Vente de Castro, No. 570.	1723	Coimbra	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.
1716	"	MSS. Lisb.	1723	Goa	MSS. Lisb.
1716	Coimbra	"	1724	Evora	"
			1725	"	"

Lisboa . . em Presenza de suas Altezas. Pregado pelo I. & R. S. D. Diogo da Annunciazam Justiniano . . . Arcebispo que foy de Cranganor (Lisbon, 1705). This is an 8vo volume of 89 pages, but is evidently a reprint, probably of 1722. In the same volume is bound up a similar one of 104 pages, entitled *Respuesta al Sermon predicado por el Arçobispo de Cranganor . . . 1705. Por el Autor de las Noticias Reconditas de la Inquisicion. Obra Posthuma impressa en Villa-Franca por Carlos Vero a la Insignia de la Verdad*. Mr. Schloss also possesses the "Noticias Reconditas" here referred to. The author is described as "Anonimo," and its (fictitious) place and date are given as "Villa Franca, 1722." It is also a dual volume similar in size, paper, and print to the "Sermam." Of the two parts the first is in Portuguese and the second in Spanish ("Castellano"). Both works are written by the London Haham David Nieto, and published in London, the City of Freedom, "Villa Franca." They are here referred to as "Nieto." The former was translated into English by Moses Mocatta, *The Inquisition and Judaism*, London, 1845, and Philadelphia, 1860; vide Gaster's *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London, 1901.

¹ A contemporary *London Gazette*, 1723, 6207/1, announces "There will be an Auto da Fé in the Church of the Monastery of St. Dominick" (Lisbon); vide Murray's *Dictionary sub voce* Auto da Fé.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Source.</i>
1725	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.	June 27,	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1725	Coimbra	"	1744	"	"
1726	"	Silva.	1745	"	Rel. Bodl.
1726	Goa	MSS. Lisb.	1745	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
Oct. 13	Lisboa	"	1746	Lisboa	Silva.
1726 (2)	"	"	1747	"	MSS. Lisb.
1727	"	"	1747 (2)	Evora	"
1727	Coimbra	Silva.	Oct. 20,	Lisboa	Silva.
May 9,	"	MSS. Lisb.	1748	"	"
1728	"	"	1749	"	"
1728	Evora	"	1749	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1728	Lisboa	"	1750	"	"
1729	"	"	1750	Lisboa	"
1729	Coimbra	"	1752 (2)	Evora	"
1730	"	"	1753	Lisboa	"
1730	Goa	"	1755	"	"
1730	Evora	"	1755	Evora	"
1731 (2)	Lisboa	"	1756	"	"
1732 (3)	"	"	1756	Lisboa	"
1732 (3)	Evora	"	1757	"	"
1732 (7)	Coimbra	"	1757 (2)	Evora	"
1733	Lisboa	"	1758	Lisboa	"
1734	Evora	"	1759	"	Cappa 135.
1734 (2)	Coimbra	"	1759	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1736	Evora	"	1760	"	"
1737 (2)	Coimbra	"	1761	"	"
1738 (2)	Evora	"	1761 (2)	Lisboa	" and Haydn.
1739	Coimbra	"	Oct. 20,	Coimbra	Gottheil, <i>J. Q. R.</i>
Sep. 1	Lisboa	"	1762	"	"
and	"	"	1763 (2)	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
Oct. 18	"	"	1765 (2)	Lisboa	"
1739 (2)	"	"	May 31,	Evora	Gottheil, <i>J. Q. R.</i>
1741 (2)	Evora	"	1767	"	"
1744 (2)	"	"	Dec. 18,	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
			1767	"	"

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